See special education coverage in Section II, with suggestions about what *YOU* can do to help block the big spending education proposals made by President Kennedy.

Human Events

YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 10 March 10, 1961 Section I — News

IKE: *What did he tell Mundt?* .....(145)

COURT: *Turns right by a margin of one* ....(145)

GOP: *What Bridges really thinks* .....(146)

WAGE HIKE: *What its effect would be* ....(147)

RUSK: *His defense theories analyzed* .....(147)

Ike and Kennedy: A cloud—no larger than a golf ball—is growing and already casting quite a shadow over the image which White House publicity artificers have been creating. The image is that of a Chief Executive who is "moderate," "anti-inflationist" and without any of the features of a Harvard left-wing intellectual.

The cloud came over the fairway in the form of a news story attributing to ex-President Eisenhower the view that President Kennedy is "too much left of center," together with other disapproving comments on the New Frontier.

The appearance of the A.P. story, which was probably headlined in every daily paper in the country, had a Washington date line. Like other stories from this city, you have to know the *modus operandi* to get the impact—which in this case was considerable on the sophisticated Capital.

Senator Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), following his decisive re-election victory over Democrat George McGovern last November, recently went to California and had an hour-long talk with Ike. On his return, he composed his weekly newsletter which goes mainly to his South Dakota constituents, but also to the press. (This is standard practice among Senators and Representatives and reams of these newsletters go to press galleries every week.)

Mundt got this reaction (which he conveyed in his newsletter) from the former President about the new Administration:

> **"He is critical of the tendencies thus far evidenced by the J.F.K. Administration—too much left of center; too partisan; too slanted toward programs supported by union bossism."**

Mundt wrote that the former President is disturbed by statements Mr. Kennedy has made indicating the economy is in trouble. "The President [Eisenhower] feels that in the main our economy is sound and strong and regrets the tendency by Mr. Kennedy to 'downgrade' it since by doing so there exists the danger of discouraging venture capital from being invested in new enterprises (and developments and expansion of present enterprises) which otherwise would provide new jobs, bigger payrolls and new taxable profits."

Mundt went on to remark that Mr. Eisenhower is "particularly gratified over Secretary of Defense McNamara's statement that there is no missile gap and pointed out this was in complete conformity with his own findings."

The Associated Press on Capitol Hill picked up Mundt's newsletter and wired the story throughout the country. The A.P. queried Ike, who disavowed Mundt's statement, said it did not accurately "describe my views," regretted its issuance. Mundt did not retract his statement, but regretted causing "embarrassment" to the former President.

What's the verdict? In Washington, we find there's little doubt that Mundt pretty accurately set down the gist of Ike's remarks. It is recalled that Mundt himself is a former Associated Press reporter and is careful about his public statements. Also, no one believes that the Senator from South Dakota was just seeking to make headlines; if he had been, he knows many reporters on the Hill to whom he could have given the story directly, with probably a greater splash of resulting publicity.

Ike's disavowal is characteristic; he has always wished to avoid controversies and, of course, has manifested his desire to keep on civil relations with Kennedy.

Old Washington hands (except liberal pundits) believe Mundt had it straight. Does the man in the street think so too? Views differ, but most of the newsmen contacted by HUMAN EVENTS think that the average citizen is sufficiently sophisticated about such denials to reason that "there's something to what Mundt said Ike said."

In that case, the golf ball size cloud will grow and have its effect. It is noticeable that the White House sagely refrains from entering the controversy.

Supreme Court: In the Wilkinson case, a majority of the Supreme Court came out last week with a ringing—and at times militant—affirmation of the right of Congress to inform itself (and the public) about the conspiracy of a foreign power, Soviet Russia, in the US. In a five-to-four decision, the Court affirmed the contempt conviction of Frank

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Wilkinson, who had refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) whether he was a member of the Communist party.

Justice Potter Stewart (see HUMAN EVENTS piece, "The Swing Man of the Supreme Court," January 6) spoke for the majority (including Frankfurter). Wilkinson, a former housing official, now secretary of the "Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms," had refused to answer the HCUA during an investigation of Communist propaganda in the South. The majority—Stewart, Whittaker, Clark, Harlan, Frankfurter; the minority—Warren, Brennan, Black, Douglas. The latter two engaged in some fiery oratory in their dissenting opinions. Verdict on Capitol Hill—a resounding victory for the House Committee on Un-American Activities (now under well-organized attack by left-wingers and innocent dupes) and for the rights of all congressional investigations.

GOP Talk: Many liberal members of the press have been busy sowing what they hope may prove to be seeds of dissension among prominent Republicans—yarns about Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N. H.) becoming a Rockefeller supporter, about Goldwater taking second place in 1964 on a Rockefeller-Goldwater ticket (how crazy can you get?), about Nixon, etc., etc. In any case, any proposed ticket for 1964 is premature. Much of the rumor stuff is quite unfounded, and clearly malicious.

Friends of Senator Bridges deny vigorously that he has ever entertained the idea of supporting Rockefeller, much less giving reporters any such impression. Bridges, friends say, at this early stage is committing himself to no GOP candidate for the 1964 nomination; that privately, he favors Goldwater and would like to help him towards the spot in any way he can. But he considers it too early to make public any preferences.

His main object is to preserve the two-party system, to strengthen the conservative forces in the country, to revive interest in the GOP for the next election and, particularly, to discourage any impression that Nixon controls the party.

The senior Republican Senator remains very critical of the way Nixon conducted the campaign, and firmly believes that the election need not have been lost by his party.

He would, however, consider Nixon again if the latter runs for and wins the governorship of California, in 1962. He recalls that the "old Nixon" won congressional elections in 1946 and 1948 and a senatorial contest in 1950 by waging hard-hitting campaigns.

Labor-Management: Conservatives on Capitol Hill react adversely to the new Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy appointed by the President. Various figures from labor, management and the "public" have agreed to serve on a body which will recommend policies to preserve "industrial peace." Labor members are principally "big guns" in the Labor Boss hierarchy; the "public" includes liberals, some middle-of-the-roaders, no staunch conservatives; management includes several liberals, no Goldwater-type tycoons. Members of Congress warn conservative businessmen against accepting positions on possible sub-committees; "the cards will be stacked against you." In World War II and subsequent years, similar panels served as devices to give unions what they wanted (thus avoiding strikes), but, in so doing, they fueled the fires of inflation to the detriment of the economy. This type of device historically has been often utilized by Government (all over the world) to assume control over both labor and management.

Soapy's Sad Safari: Few observers can recall a more complete example of low comedy political buffoonery than the exhibition G. Mennen Williams put on during his first trip to Africa as President Kennedy's Undersecretary of State for African Affairs.

The longtime Michigan red-ink governor, who knew little or nothing about the Dark Continent when Kennedy appointed him, alienated virtually every European he met. His "Africa for the Africans" policy speech in Kenya, a British colony, did little to smooth our often testy relations with London. The London *Daily Telegraph* cabled from Kenya that Williams "ostentatiously ignored white guests" at a reception to fraternize with African politicians.

Congressman William E. Miller (R.-N.Y.) last week summed up sentiment regarding Williams by calling on President Kennedy to recall "Soapy" "before he spreads hoof-in-mouth disease all over Africa." Miller said Williams' activities in Africa "are an unfortunate example of the folly of appointing political leftovers to sensitive important posts in government.

"Candidate Kennedy stressed the need for doing something constructive in Africa. Now, as President, he comes up with what is perhaps the worst possible solution—sending Williams to the Congo."

• A fitting end to this "Soapy" opera was offered by Congressman George Meader (R.-Mich.). Meader noted that Williams has made great progress: "It took him 12 years to wreck Michigan. It only took him one month to wreck our African relations."

Education: Kennedy's education bill looks "curiouser and curiouser" if it is designed to meet the supposed classroom shortage. New York, for example, say financial experts, will have to pay out some $54 million above what it takes in under the proposal, while Mississippi will receive some $12 million more than it pays out. Yet New York suffers from a supposed classroom shortage of 16,000, according to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, while Mississippi has a shortage of only 4000, and is overcoming the shortage at a

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faster rate than is New York. To make New York pay out more than it takes in is "preposterous," runs Capitol Hill comment, if HEW's figures are correct. But new doubt is being raised as to whether there is a serious classroom shortage at all. HEW, for example, neither establishes standard classroom sizes nor determines when classrooms are overcrowded. These judgments are made by the state and local governments which decide themselves just what the "shortage" is. Thirteen states, for example, report a lack of facilities when there are more than 25 pupils to a classroom, other states when there are more than 30. Some states don't even use the pupil per classroom ratio, but claim "shortages" on the basis of square footage of space per pupil.

But this is not all that is rather irregular and imprecise about the Federal government's figure. The Department of Education requires the states and localities to include in their "shortage" figure the total number of "improvised" classrooms, the total number of classrooms in non-school public buildings, and the total number of classrooms in non-publicly owned buildings.

A Department spokesman said, furthermore, that non-publicly owned buildings include private schools no longer in operation, but which have been turned over to the public schools for use.

In other words, if the states and localities wish to save construction costs of building new schools by using other satisfactory types of empty buildings and facilities that are available, HEW still lists the classrooms used in these buildings—even if they are former private school classrooms—as part of the Federal-declared classroom shortage!

How to Fight Fraud: The Republican National Committee has analyzed election fraud complaints from all sections of the country during the last election and has released a booklet offering practical solutions to the problem.

Entitled "Are You a Shadow Voter?," the GOP booklet points out that over three million votes are stolen or lost during a national election (based on surveys of the Honest Ballot Association, New York City), and that the number of vote frauds seems to be on the increase. Documented case histories deal with "tombstone" voting, padding voter lists, spoiling or disqualifying ballots, jamming voter machines, etc. Copies of the booklet have gone to President Kennedy, all members of Congress, and numerous civic and political groups. Copies may be obtained ($5.75 per 100) from Typemasters, Inc., 463 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Suggested ways to cope with fraud include: (1) "Tombstone" voting—Make a complete, accurate canvass of your precincts immediately prior to the election. Unless precinct leaders keep close tabs on deaths and departures, vote thieves can and will move in. (2) Vote buying—Place watchers with cameras outside polls to snap possible vote buying. Place "cruisers" in autos to trail suspected voters to payoff point. Report irregularities to police, press, county chairman. (3) Rigged machines—Party officials should inspect machines before they are locked at the warehouse prior to shipment. Officials of both parties should be present when machines are unlocked for use to make sure all counters are set at zero. (4) Paper ballots—Actions of every election clerk and judge should be under constant surveillance. Suspicious movements should be challenged and reported at once.

Minimum Wage: Senator Barry Goldwater predicted last week that adoption of President Kennedy's minimum wage program ($1.25 minimum plus extension to 4.3 million more workers) would put 500,000 persons out of work within three to five months. He said such legislation would aggravate our already dangerous balance-of-payments problem and generally compound the nation's economic uncertainty.

The Arizonan said he believed that "this is about the worst possible time that could have been chosen for further tampering with the natural laws of our free enterprise economy by granting unearned wage increases through government edict.

"Regardless of how the Kennedy Administration spokesmen dress up this proposal for popular consumption, the basic fact remains that when you artificially increase the cost of labor you always cut down the number of job opportunities." Goldwater pointed out that almost 60 per cent of American business' expense dollars go for wages. He said that if the percentage is increased by boosting the minimum wage, two things will happen.

First, "employers will begin to automate their operations as quickly as they can and start laying off marginal, part-time workers—those younger and older people who work to augment the incomes of their families—at a rapid rate." Secondly, "prices will be increased by merchants and producers and suppliers of services who are unable to meet the added wage costs in any other way.

"Thus, two immediate effects of a minimum wage boost will be unemployment and inflation. And these would come at a time when President Kennedy is talking about full employment and sending messages to Congress asking that costs and prices be kept low because of our balance-of-payments and gold outflow problems."

Rusk's Proposal: A recent report by the Washington *Evening Star* that Secretary of State Dean Rusk favored a shift from a policy of nuclear massive retaliation to reliance on conventional forces stirred up quite a storm on Capitol Hill last week. Rusk denied that he said the US would

JAMES A. HALEY, Democratic Congressman from Florida: "In my opinion it is unfortunate that HUMAN EVENTS cannot be placed in the hands of every American who is interested in maintaining and strengthening our form of government."

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refuse to use nuclear weapons in case of an all-out attack as the *Star* implied. But it was plain he favored holding off the use of nuclear weapons until a Communist attack had reached a more massive level than would have triggered atomic retaliation under Eisenhower policy. In defense language, this is known as "raising the atomic threshold." (Although the State Department attacked the story, the editor of the *Star*—one of the most highly respected papers in the US—stood behind its accuracy.)

Supposedly, Rusk's proposed policy—which the President did not repudiate—was designed to lessen the chances of an all-out nuclear war in Europe and to meet limited warfare involving subversion and guerrilla tactics.

Yet military experts point out that Rusk's plan is self-defeating and would more likely lead to warfare, both limited and unlimited.

Indeed, the Eisenhower regime's threats of massive retaliation, as formulated by John Foster Dulles, obviously caused the Soviets to fear that the US would unleash the awesome power of atomic weapons, and consequently the Communists, it is pointed out, have been less willing to resort to dangerous brinkmanship policies in either Europe or Asia. Rusk's plan, if adopted, would tell the Soviets, in effect, that they will have less reason than previously to fear nuclear reprisals. This would undoubtedly whet Soviet appetites for increasing military and para-military pressures, in ticklish situations everywhere.

Moreover, Rusk's policy is poorly fashioned to meet the problem of limited warfare. NATO's forces are now designed to use tactical nuclear weapons in order to stop the superior land forces of the Soviets and their satellites. What would Rusk's policy of "raising the threshold," at which the US would use atomic weapons, do to the *limited* warfare concept of NATO? The policy might give the Soviets a "nuclear Yalu," to use the phrase of one observer, who added, "and it smacks of a receding containment policy undreamed of even by Dean Acheson in his heyday."

Red Famine: Nationalist China's Vice President-Premier Chen Cheng charged last week in Taipei that the famine on the Chinese mainland is man-made. He enumerated four principal factors:

(1) The farm communes, introduced in 1958, which "deprived the mainland peasants of the fruit of their labor, killed incentive and broke up the family system." Farm production has steadily fallen since the communes were introduced.

(2) The enormous arms program being pushed by the Peiping regime has China on a "guns instead of butter" diet. In 1960 Red China allocated 60 per cent of capital investment to industry and only 12 per cent to agriculture.

(3) The ever-increasing natural calamities on the mainland stemming in part from the Communists' "clumsy handling of water conservancy projects and abusive use of forestry resources, thus destroying the water and soil conservation systems."

(4) Peiping's "starvation export" of food supplies in exchange for strategic materials. Despite famine among the people, Peiping exported nearly 6,000,000 metric tons of food to Russia and other countries in 1960.

Capitol Camera: House Leader Sam "Mr. Czar" Rayburn last week deposed Georgia Democrat Phillip Landrum as chairman of a House Education and Labor subcommittee which is considering Administration legislation to increase the minimum wage. Reportedly Rayburn felt that the Landrum-Griffin bill hero would be tougher to bend to his wishes than the man who was picked to replace him—James Roosevelt.

• *Further evidence that Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges won't be much of a conservative influence in the Administration: Hodges supported minimum wage bill of Kennedy and claimed increasing wage floor to* $1.25 *in one year "wouldn't make too much difference in the economy."*

• Soviet-Chinese split? Soviets afraid of increasing Chinese military power? Not likely, say diplomatic experts. Secretary of the Army Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., warned before the House Armed Services Committee last week that the Soviets were making a growing number of weapons available to Communist China. Soviets, instead of cutting military forces as announced, are actually increasing them, said General George B. Decker, Army Chief of Staff.

• *Representative James Roosevelt (Calif.) was joined by five other Democrats—no Republicans—in his effort to cut the funds of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). House Resolution* 167, *which authorized* $331,000 *for the committee's expenses, was agreed to,* 412 *to* 6. *Roosevelt's colleagues were: Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio), Edith Green (Ore.), Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wis.), Barratt O'Hara (Ill.) and William F. Ryan (N.Y.).*

• In his visit to Africa, modest "Soapy" Williams presented two books to the President of the Congo, Joseph Kasavubu. One was the President's *Strategy of Peace*—the other, *Williams of Michigan—Fighter For Progress.*

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HUMAN EVENTS
-- What YOU Can Do --

See President Kennedy's Federal aid to education proposals on page 151. See page 152 for story of how Federal aid became Federal control at a Tennessee college.

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A Federal Raid on Education?

By Edna Lonigan

Educationists have now quietly abandoned the argument that they do not intend to have Federal control of our local school systems. They have a new and even more deadly line of attack. They say Federal control is the only way to save education from the stupidity of local boards of education.

Do the educationists say they are abandoning their former line of argument? Not at all. They just drop it overboard, swing about at a 180° angle and go ahead in the opposite direction without so much as one "excuse us, please."

This change fits the political rule practiced so brilliantly by Franklin Roosevelt—"Don't ever let 'em get bored." Consistency is of no importance. Responsibility is of no importance. But boredom! That is the unforgivable political sin.

What do they say now?

Here it is. "The Soviet Union is ahead of us in science. They are going to send a man into space before we do. They are outstripping us in economic growth. The dangers are increasing all over the world. We must be far better prepared. We are not graduating enough science majors, enough language majors. A score of new nations have been invited into the United Nations in the last few years. We have very few Americans who can speak their tribal dialects. (But, you will interrupt, they all speak English or French! Do not be silly. What does that have to do with plans to train our young people in all the minor dialects?) We are not training our bright young students to the limit of their abilities." And so on, *ad infinitum*.

All that is said boldly and firmly. Then quietly the suggestion comes, "Only the Federal government can give our educational system the dynamism it needs. Local boards of education have wasted the talents of our young people in courses in driver training and life adjustment. We not only are willing to have Federal control. We demand it. Local board of education members cannot think fast enough to bring all these new subjects into the curriculum. We favor Federal financial aid to education because that is the only way we can get the control we need to raise the standards of education."

Whenever you wish to get advance notice of changes in the "party line," watch the left-wing journals. They "telegraph" the new propaganda arguments to their readers before the slogans are put before the general public.

An important statement of the new line appeared recently in the *New Republic*, and was reprinted in the Washington *Post*.

This is a fascinating document. It begins, "If educators have their way . . ." and goes on, "and liberal legislators who support them." That implies that true educators are the prime movers in the demand for Federal aid, and the left-wing politicians are merely their obedient servants.

If these two groups have their way, the *New Republic* continues, "the Federal Government will be spending considerably more money on public education." Hear, hear! But they say, "The question of *how* this money should be spent, and who ultimately will be the schools' *masters* remains a topic of heated debate." (We have taken the liberty of italicizing two words.)

"Congress will be told of all the ways in which Federal money could be more wisely spent, if the myopic local school boards or the self-seeking state legislators were not in the saddle."

There you have it. No more apologizing for Federal control. We boast of it!

The *New Republic* points out what is wrong with the "myopic" school boards. "The local DAR can coerce the Jonesville school board into banning books on the UN and perhaps the local clergy can monitor class room discussions of sex." The DAR has been much too successful in its fight on "The Wishing Well." Clergymen have spoken or might have spoken out against UNESCO pamphlets containing material on sex which no decent newspaper could print. Such "arrogance" must be stopped (and Federal financial aid is the way to stop it).

The saving grace is that, of course, Congress will have to turn its powers over to experts. "Even the most hot-blooded and power-hungry Congress [*sic!*] cannot run a school system. It must rely on a bureaucracy to do so."

This bureaucracy, we are told, will lead to "freedom" for teachers. American teachers do not understand academic freedom anyhow. The great merit of this transformation is that our schools will really become like those of Europe. Americans who object are still shackled by "the Jeffersonian untruth that the best government governs least."

Then, curiously, the writers talk of totalitarianism. Why? They explain why. They say, "Totalitarianism does not creep. It leaps," because the government is weak. Their statement is false.

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They ask, "Was the trouble with the Weimar government (which preceded Hitler) that it was too strong?" We say "yes." The trouble was that under the Empire, under the war economy, and then under the Weimar Republic, the German Government was building up ever greater controls over the economy, the press, the universities, industries, and the German banks. The Weimar government was very powerful, but power without a rudder. The political parties were very weak. Any government will change hands from a weak political system to one strong enough to manage the powerful governmental complex.

If Americans build up vast governmental powers in the areas of labor, industry, education, natural resources, military operations and supply and communications, who is going to manage those powers? Our enfeebled political parties? Our bewildered Members of Congress? No—totalitarianism does not leap forth. It creeps. It grows step by step, through the efforts of people who build up the power the central government exercises over national life.

Do we wish to have our national system transformed into an imitation of Europe?

EUROPE has made its schools an essential part in the never-ceasing fight for political power. If we build a powerful vested interest in the Federal government to spend school money, the most potent political forces in the nation will come in and attempt to direct it. We cannot give a dollar in school aid without getting into a bitter struggle over integration—witness the Powell amendment. The greatest of all objections to Federal aid for religious schools (Catholic, or other) is that every decision made by the Federal school authorities will be a power decision, taking one side or other of issues that can never be settled. The churches will not be able to keep out of the political struggle because their very real religious interests will be involved. There can never be an end to the conflicts. The churches will lose their special American immunity from politics, a loss far greater than the greatest imaginable gain from Federal funds.

Perhaps you think this new argument will be easy to answer. Just stop to think in how many places, and in how many fancy garments these arguments will be repeated.

We are close to the place where the path divides. Are we going to have a pluralistic system of education under a variety of agencies, public and private? Or are we going to have a monolithic system with a uniformity imposed from Washington under bureaucrats pleasing to whoever is the strongest political power in the nation?

We are close to the point of no return. No power dismantles a monolithic governmental colossus except conquest from without. If we go down the road of Federal control of education through gifts of money from Washington, there will be no turning.

Let no one take this threat lightly. The doctrine of Federal lifting of educational standards is already in effect in the Defense Education Bill. The Federal government said, "More science courses," so more science courses we must have. It said more language courses, so more language courses we must have. But attempts by Federal bureaucrats to dictate the major fields of emphasis in education can lead only to deterioration of quality.

It is time for a simple decision. The only question involved in Federal grants for education is whether we wish to establish a Federal colossus bestriding the world of education. It will move as the bureaucrats and power-seekers wish. It will not move under pressure from below, from parents, teachers, lovers of learning, lovers of our country.

Congressman Ralph Gwinn of New York attempted several years ago to find out how much money was being spent on education by the Federal government. He was not allowed to get the full story, but the picture he brought out was that of creeping government financing and controls which had already reached huge proportions. That was before the Defense Education Act.

Senator Harry F. Byrd, in a recent speech before the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, pointed out how well the makers of our Constitution, like Jefferson, understood the need for progress in the general welfare. He wrote, from Paris, urging us to "make the States one as to everything connected with foreign relations, and keep them the several States as to everything purely domestic." We still wish, said Senator Byrd, "to solve our problems by methods conforming to our fundamental principles."

President Eisenhower used part of his farewell message to the American people to stress two dangers. The importance of this statement has not yet been realized.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER spoke of "the potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power" in the military-industrial complex. Then he went on, "Research has become central; it has also become more formalized, complex and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government."

He continued, "The free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research . . . . A government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity." Would President Eisenhower have used language so filled with foreboding, unintentionally? He concluded, "The prospect of domination of the Nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present, and is gravely to be regarded."

This, friends, was said before the passage of any laws for general Federal aid to education. It is on top of this pyramid that any new Federal aid will be added.

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Kennedy's Education Program

(The analysis below was made by Congressional Quarterly, an impartial source.)

President Kennedy February 20 sent to Congress a message summarizing his proposals for federal aid to education. The major requests were:

• Grants of $2.3 billion over three years to be used by the states primarily for construction of elementary and high school classrooms and for boosting teachers' salaries.

• Loans of almost $2.8 billion over five years to colleges for the construction of dormitories, libraries and other academic facilities.

• Four-year federal scholarships, averaging $2,800 each for 212,500 prospective college students, and $350 a year for each student with a federal scholarship to the college he attends.

Public Elementary and Secondary School Aid. Congress was asked to authorize $666 million in the first year of the program, $766 million in the second, and $866 million in the third. The grants were equal to at least $15 per child in average daily attendance in each state's public schools and were "equalized" on the basis of state per capita incomes in relation to the average daily attendance. Under the equalization formula, the poorest state, Mississippi, could receive almost twice as much, or $29.76 per pupil.

The states were left with the responsibility of deciding how the money should be allocated between construction and salary expenses. Each state, however, was required to set aside 10 per cent of the first year's grants, and an equal amount for the next two years, for "special educational needs." Administration aides said these might include special programs required by problems such as slums, children of migrant workers, mentally retarded children, or children of superior intelligence, but that the money could not be used for such purposes as roads leading to schools, etc.

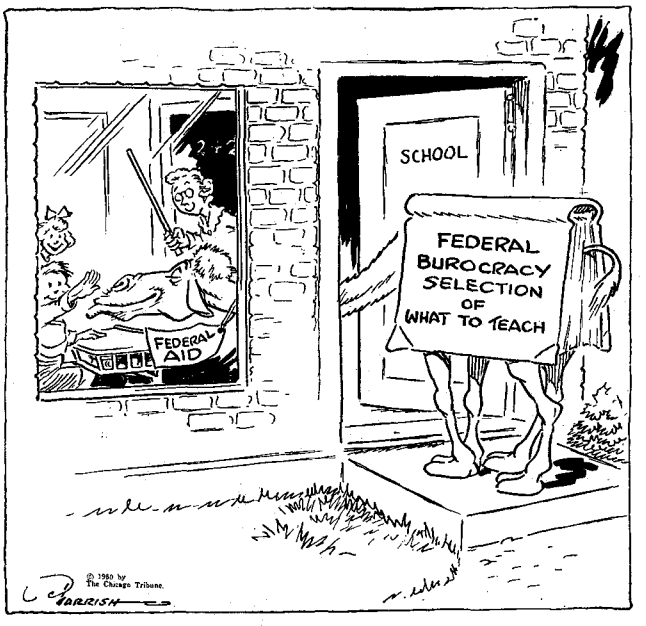
The states were not required to match the federal funds, but were required to continue their current levels of expenditure of their own funds; those states which were below average in the proportion of their income devoted to education were required to improve their effort to meet the national average or lose part of their federal aid.

Higher Education Aid. The President asked for expansion of the existing college housing loan program with a five year, $250 million-a-year, program of long-term, low-interest loans to public and private colleges and universities for construction of dormitories.

He also requested a similar program authorizing $300 million a year for five years for loans to private and public colleges to aid in the construction of classrooms, libraries, laboratories and other educational facilities.

Scholarships. The President requested a new program, to be added to the 1958 National Defense Education Act, granting four-year college scholarships to about 212,500 students over five years. The stipends would range up to $1,000 a year, but would average about $700. The scholarship program was to be administered by the states, and the awards were to be available "to all young persons, without regard of sex, race, creed, or color, solely on the basis of their ability—as determined on a competitive basis—and their financial need." Winners were to choose their colleges, and the schools were to be given $350 a year for each scholarship student, to help pay the difference between the tuition and the cost of teaching the student. The cost of each four-year scholarship: $4,200 ($2,800 to the student; $1,400 to his college). Total cost of the program: $892,500,000 through fiscal 1969.

SO HE JUST WANTS TO STICK HIS NOSE IN



Write Your Congressmen

Write your own Senators and Representative. Tell them the great body of American public opinion is against Federal taxation to give local schools their own money. It knows the money comes from the locality and it wishes the policy-making to remain local. Tell them to disregard the highly organized "mass public opinion" which apparently favors Federal power over education, because it does not really represent the American people. But tell them also that you will make every effort to bring the subject up for discussion in all the local groups in which you participate, so that citizens who do not take part in pressure group campaigns will know they must make their ideas known and bar systematic Federal financing of our schools while there is yet time.

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Federal Control of Education: A Case History

By CLAUDE J. BARTLETT, PH.D.
Assistant Professor of Psychology, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee

IT HAS OFTEN been stated that federal aid to education does not necessarily lead to federal control of education. As an educator realizing the need for additional funds in the field of education, I might be willing to accept the belief that federal aid is the solution to the desperate need for funds to support the academic field. I am basically opposed to the federal government's taking over a responsibility that is delegated to the state and local governments by the Constitution, but since the local governments have been so lax in appropriating adequate funds, the idea of federal aid appears reasonable on the surface. The question that is the most crucial is not the one of efficiency of federal vs. local government in the allocation of funds, since this country must build up its educational system at any cost. The danger in federal aid to education lies in the answer to the question, "Does federal aid mean federal control?" Unfortunately, the answer to this question appears to be YES.

In 1958 the Congress of this country passed the National Defense Education Act. This was an emergency act designed to build up our educational system in this country. This act has been an outstanding example of what federal aid to education can lead to. I was directly involved in two Guidance and Counseling Institutes (one as director) supported under Title V of this act and my experiences provide some facts which offer evidence to answer the crucial question to federal aid and control. The following incidents should help point out the consequences that can result from federal aid to education.

a. *Lowering of Academic Standards.* In our Institute last year the standards for admission of students were lowered as a result of pressure from the federal government. We could not find as many qualified students who were free to attend the Institute as we had agreed to train in our contract with the US Office of Education. The result was the acceptance of many persons into the area of guidance who were of questionable ability. This created many administrative and instructional problems within the Institute leading to less adequate training for the qualified students.

b. *Stagnation of Curriculum and Administration.* The rigidity of the federal government policies would not allow us the freedom to make changes in the curriculum and administration in order to improve the quality of the Institute. Since the plan of operation for our second Institute had to be submitted before the completion of our first Institute, recommendations for change as a result of our experience were not included in our plan of operation. The US Office of Education refused to permit changes in the plan of operation even though the changes did not affect the cost of the Institute as specified in the contract. Thus, the federal government dictated curriculum and administration of the Institute as well as financial arrangements.

c. *Interference in Administration of College.* The policies of the federal government interfered with freedom of the college to appoint personnel to the staff of the Institute which were in the best interests of the total operation of the college. I was appointed to direct the Institute in order to permit last year's director adequate time to perform his duties as director of the Child Study Center, a special operation of the college for many years. This person was appointed as acting director when the contract was signed, but it was never the college's intention that he would direct this year's Institute, since this would have created a less efficient operation of a well established agency of the college and community. The federal government refused to allow the change in directorship under the terms of the contract; thus interfering with the operation of the college.

d. *Inconsistency of the Bureaucratic Mind.* The US Office of Education stipulated that all of our students for our second Institute be recruited before authorization to hold the Institute had even been completed. This appears to be an outstanding example of the inconsistencies that can occur under a federal bureaucracy.

e. *Fear of Federal Power.* As a result of the difficulties encountered, the college chose to cancel the contract for the Institute rather than submit to the whims of a federal bureau. The possibility of initiating action which might lead to a reduction of federal intervention in academic matters was discussed. Although the consensus was that the action of the US Office of Education was not wise, there was a great deal of reservation about taking action which might lead to less intervention by the federal government in academic matters. The reason for the reservation was a fear of reprisal by the federal government, if in the future, additional funds were sought. Although all of the above incidents are examples of how federal aid leads to federal control of education, this last incident appears to be the key in answering the question of aid leading to control. Federal power leads to fear of that power which leads to more power. Is this a never ending chain of events, or is there still time to stop it?

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

"The trouble with the New Deal was, it never spent enough."

—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

Vol. XVIII, No. 10 — Section III March 10, 1961

The 'Big Lie' About New Zealand

A 'Workers' Paradise'?

(*The New York* Times *refused to print the following letter from Fred G. Clark, general chairman of the American Economic Foundation.*)

Why does the New York *Times* persist in spreading the big lie about New Zealand? Articles appearing on January 15th and on January 16th (front page), and an editorial on January 27th, all purport to show how that advanced welfare state has created "a workers' paradise" when in truth, it is just the opposite.

New Zealand is a loafers' paradise; and it is the workers who bear the big burden of supporting them. Your correspondent is either ignorant of, or purposely ignores the fact that government has nothing to give except that which it first takes from the people.

Since all taxes come out of production, it is the producers who pay for all the socialistic hand-outs which the Labour Government in New Zealand has been pyramiding over the years. The cost of it all has reached the point where it is destroying the will to produce.

To first-time visitors the most noticeable evidence of this destruction is the difficulty, and in many cases impossibility, of getting service of any kind. Deliveries being very scarce, the women must go to market to get supplies, and to make matters worse, they must take their babies with them because baby-sitters cannot be lured away from loafing on the dole except at a price which most mothers can't afford. This goes for household help as well. And as for getting a shoeshine—just try to buy one!

No. New Zealand is far from the utopian picture painted by your correspondent. The Labour Party has extended unemployment relief and other so-called benefits to the degree that increasing numbers, discouraged by increasing taxes, would rather live meagerly on government charity than exert themselves. But all of this charity is paid for out of past, present or future production and the workers not only bear the big load, but are further handicapped by having to use outmoded tools because taxes to pay the cost of nationalized charity are so high that the people cannot accumulate enough money to invest in the new and better tools needed to expand the nation's markets.

But the ones who take it on the chin are the unpaid home workers, the women who have had to become human pack-horses under the system. I have long contended that if some of the patriotic women's organizations in America, which seem to have money to spend on all kinds of projects, would send a committee of qualified women to New Zealand for six months to observe and, on returning, publish a report on what happens to women in an advanced welfare state, there would be a completely overwhelming pressure upon our politicians to stop our social planners in their tracks. And if the facts were made known about what socialized medicine is like in action, we would never hear another peep about it from our social reformers. Such a report might even stimulate research to discover the degree of inhumanity in our humanitarianism.

CAREFUL, GRANDMA!

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS
HOW NICE OF YOU TO THINK OF POOR OL' GRANDMA!
STATES' POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
WELFARE STATE SOCIALISM
HARRISH

Utopia? Bunk! Paradise? New Zealand was a paradise for all before the welfare staters took over. God gave New Zealand everything in the way of beauty, fertile land and pleasant living conditions. Most of her people by nature and ancestry are unsurpassed for character. But, since the standard of living of any nation or civilization is directly dependent upon the per capita production of its people, economic and moral deterioration starts when increasing numbers are encouraged to loaf by a government which compels the thrifty to carry the shiftless. The end result should be clear, even to your correspondent who, wittingly or unwittingly, carries the torch for socialism.

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Reuther Prepares Demand for Shorter Work Week

By Victor Riesel

Around Walter Reuther, the men of the auto union's high command talk about wiping out the 40-hour week "slowly but once and for all." This they say they can do during the swiftly onrushing bargaining with the Big Three car companies.

These are the men with whom Reuther developed the guaranteed annual wage formula and the profit-sharing demand of past headline-shaking negotiations. This time they have no fixed formula, just an idee fixe—cut the work week or the work year. Perhaps it can be done, they say, by merely chipping off an hour a week. This would make it 39 hours at 40 hours pay. The hour could be trimmed from Friday.

Then in the second year of the contract, a second hour could go. Thus, when the new rounds of negotiations come up, the Auto Workers could swing into an ever-shortening Friday—which eventually would go the way of Saturdays of old.

At first the short weeks would be operative only during July and August. Then, during succeeding contracts, the early Friday could be extended to June and September. Finally, it could be stretched across the year.

Or perhaps the year itself could be cut. The men could take an additional week's vacation—paid, of course—during the winter as well as the spring and summer. They work 2,000 hours now each year—when on full time. By cutting 40 hours out of the full time, they would get their extra week. Or, they could shave time off each day by an hour—first on Friday, the next year on Thursday, or Monday—until the official work day through the week would be seven hours.

They know the Big Three are going to be as enthusiastic over this as Dwight Eisenhower over a snow-covered golf course. They say they're set to give as well as take. Here is their *quid pro quo* formula:

Some of the auto union leaders are ready to recommend the yielding of the coveted "productivity increase." This is a clause they won for their contract over 12 years ago.

Under this clause the United Auto Workers members automatically get a two and a half per cent wage increase each year. No bargaining. They get it in return for increased experience, increased use of new machinery, increased efficiency, increased productivity. They get it for turning out more in the same amount of time.

Now, say some of Reuther's colleagues, let's exchange this cash for a shorter work week. Two and a half per cent of 40 hours is one hour. Let's take the productivity increase in time, not money.

The first year would give the men one hour off; the second year would give the men some three quarters of an hour off the 39-hour week. The third year would cut the 38 hours, etc., etc. Or if worked on a yearly basis, two and a half per cent of 2,000 hours would yield 50 hours—or enough for that extra week's vacation.

There even is talk of an Australian system which gives workers a half-year sabbatical after 10 years.

Reports from the union's Soliditary House in Detroit reveal 200,000 jobs have disappeared and membership is at 1 million. If the short work week or work year puts tens of thousands on holiday, or merges Friday into the week end, the time will have to be filled by other manpower. Thus some of the jobless will be absorbed, say the auto union leaders.

How soon this will be publicly announced only Walter Reuther really knows. In years past, when he decided to push the guaranteed annual wage, his colleagues were "selling" GAW two years in advance. When they decided to push profit sharing, they worked out front a year ahead of time. Now they will have to move fast. They must get their demands in shape for their special Detroit convention late in April. From that hall they pass the formula on to the 22 UAW summer schools, each attended by the 120 regional leaders who must "sell" it in turn to their people back home. That puts them in trim for the late summer and October bargaining campaign.

One thing is certain. When Reuther starts rolling, it will be the year's most "impactful" home-front story since the inauguration.

Africa and the UN

(The statement below was made by Minister Godefroid Munongo of Katanga Province in the Congo. It was reprinted by Congresswoman Katharine St. George (R.-N. Y.) in her weekly newsletter to her constituents.)

Will people be against us only because we are a young and African nation? The other young nations would not understand your position.

I asked a few questions. Have the UN ever worried about the opposition leaders executed in other countries in South America? Did the UN worry about the killing of King Faisal of Iraq? What have the UN done to protect tens of thousands of Balubas in Kasai who were exterminated by Lumumbists? Have the UN opened an inquest on the poisoning of the leader of the Cameroons in Switzerland? Have the UN worried about millions of Russians exterminated in Russia?

Why didn't the UN protect General (Pal) Maleter and Premier Imre Nagy in Hungary?

Is it not true that the allies in the war allowed their former friend General (Draja) Mihailovitch to be executed by (President) Tito (in Yugoslavia)?

There is no end to questions like this. Those I have put suffice to shame the UN, which does not say a word when big powers are involved, but likes to enforce itself and its pretended authority when it is dealing with a small, feeble nation. The UN forgets some things, but likes to make hypocritical clamor about individuals who are not worth worrying about.

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Core Curriculum

Reprinted from *Council for Basic Education Bulletin*

A core curriculum is one in which the children bring apples to school and eat them and plant the cores in the school grounds. They watch them sprout and grow into leaves and blossoms, and then fruit. This is *Science.* They paste pieces of bark and twigs and leaves on paper and they paint pictures of the apples in a dish. This is *Art.*

The children sit around under the trees singing "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree." This is *Music.* The story of Johnny Appleseed is told them. This is *Library Study.* They climb up in the tree and pick the apples. This is *Physical Education.*

They count the apples, "taking away" the wormy ones. This is *Arithmetic.* In their own words, they tell what a tree is and what they felt when they saw the cores turn into trees. They also write letters to the National Apple Growers Association. This is *Language Arts.* The gifted children do enriched research by reading Kilmer's "Trees" or by finding out about Isaac Newton, the Apple of Discord, the Garden of Eden, William Tell, and other apple-y events.

They learn such words as *arbor, l'arbre, Apfel, Baum, manzana.* This is *Foreign Languages.*

The boys build boxes to store the apples. This is *Industrial Arts.* And the girls bake them and sauce them and pie them. This is *Homemaking.* Then everyone eats them and learns about their nutritional value. This is *Health Education.*

These activities have been performed without a textbook or a workbook.

When all the apples are gone, they take the cores once again and plant them in the school grounds and watch them grow and flower and fruit. Pretty soon, you cannot see the school for the trees. This is called *The End of Education.*

• The enriched curriculum in upstate New York. According to the January issue of the magazine *New York State Education,* the Lockport High School gives a course in Family Living which includes units in which "each girl plans, either alone or with her boyfriend [sic], a home that would be possible to build and furnish on a limited budget." Other units consider the problems of "mate selection" and "learning to be livable, lovable and datable." The classes are also addressed by a panel of grandmothers—who presumably have learned to be livable, if not lovable. The magazine states that "one of the purposes of the work is to provide an outlet for informal classwork and sincere friendships between pupils and teachers."

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Socialized Medicine: "Compulsory social insurance, is in its essence undemocratic and it cannot remove or prevent poverty. The workers of America adhere to voluntary institutions in preference to compulsory systems, which are held to be not only impracticable, but a menace to their rights, welfare, and their liberty. Compulsory sickness insurance for workers is based upon the theory that they are unable to look after their own interests and the State must interpose its authority and wisdom and assume the relation of parent or guardian."

—Samuel Gompers, January 22, 1917

Freeman's Semantic Nonsense

From the Chicago Tribune

Orville L. Freeman, the new Secretary of Agriculture, says he doesn't like the words "compulsory" or "mandatory" when he talks about farm programs. He proposes to substitute the word "democratic." This is a better word, he maintains, because farmers have a free choice in referenda for some types of farm programs, which become compulsory only after they have been approved by a two-thirds vote of those who cast ballots.

This is semantic nonsense. Mr. Freeman should know enough about his new job to be familiar with the wheat referendum, which has been held annually since 1952 and is a typical "democratic" program within his terms of reference. Last year, for example, the wheat referendum offered growers a choice of voting to continue acreage controls and marketing quotas in return for a guarantee of $1.78 a bushel, or taking $1.18 a bushel with continued acreage controls but without marketing quotas.

Without marketing quotas, growers would have been subject to stiff fines if they overplanted their acreage allotments, but if they had overplanted they would not have been eligible for $1.18 a bushel and would have had to sell their wheat on the open market at a substantially lower price. In other words, not by offering farmers a realistic choice, the referendum is rigged to favor a continued "yes" vote for mandatory controls year after year, as results have proven. Moreover, requiring a two-thirds vote instead of a simple majority to approve or disapprove a program hardly seems democratic.

The Kennedy Administration's new live stock feed grain bill proposes a "voluntary" program of crop land retirement in return for higher price supports. But the bill contains a provision which would permit the government to dump surplus grain on the market to beat down prices for farmers who refuse to participate in the program—an outright threat of coercion.

The fact that less than one-fifth of the nation's wheat growers bother to vote in the annual wheat referendum shows farmers know it is rigged in favor of controls. Perhaps Mr. Freeman knows it, too. Perhaps he prefers the term "democratic" as a coverup for the compulsory programs the Democrats hope to impose, remembering that farmers showed their distaste for compulsion and coercion when they voted for Mr. Nixon last November.

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Inside a Pennsylvania 'Depressed Area'

The following advertisement was run in both the Scranton *Times* and the Scranton *Tribune* in Scranton, Pennsylvania, by the burgess of nearby Forest City. In many small incorporated villages and towns in Pennsylvania, the highest elected public official is called a burgess, rather than the more commonly-used title of mayor. The Congressman Scranton referred to in the ad is freshman Republican Representative William F. Scranton of Pennsylvania's 10th District. He recently voted in favor of the Rayburn scheme for packing the House Rules Committee with liberal Democrats.

IT'S TIME SOMEBODY TOLD THE TRUTH

TO THE PEOPLE OF

NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA!

It is with regret and chagrin that I read in the local papers that Congressman Scranton voted to increase the House Rules Committee from 12 to 15. I thought that we voted for a Statesman, but instead we got a politician and a Democrat at that!

This was purely a Democratic family squabble and I feel strongly that Mr. Scranton had no right to support Rayburn. His excuse for doing so does not hold water. The Rules Committee did not block the legislation (Aid to Depressed Areas Bill) as he stated in the Tribune. President Eisenhower vetoed the bill. I, for one, feel that President Eisenhower did the right thing and I live in the same depressed area.

Mr. Scranton should know by now, that our area cannot be helped by "handouts" from the Federal Government, in a "pork barrel" fashion. This method will only entrench the political and labor bosses more firmly. It will not improve our ills; it will make them worse. The supposition is that the money from the Federal Government will be used to build industrial buildings. The men hired for this will clear through the county political bosses and the labor leaders. Suppose the buildings are up and industry refuses to come to the Scranton area! (There are two empty buildings in Scranton right now. LIFE and SCRANTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE are trying to get tenants for them!) What have Mr. Scranton and his Democratic colleagues accomplished? Surely, we will have higher taxes and more burdens as a result of this wild spending.

Has Mr. Scranton ever asked himself the question—Why industry refuses to come to his area? Has he tried to analyze it? Has he tried to solve it? Well, if he has, it is not by "handouts" from the Federal Government!

The ills of this area go back to labor agitation and labor scandal; political dictatorship, financial solvency in the various municipalities, high taxation on city, county and state levels; these are just some of the factors which play a part in deciding whether industry comes here or not.

For twelve years my fellow citizens in Forest City and I worked hard to get industry to locate here. The truth of the matter is, that we live too close to Scranton. Industry absolutely refused to come here because of the reputation that labor has in the Scranton area.

Now then, if Mr. Scranton and the President feel that dumping money is going to cure our unemployment, they, both, are badly disillusioned and I state that for the record.

However, Mr. Scranton, the President and his brother, Robert, can perform this area a service by having it be more attractive to industry. That is, try to get the Scranton area to be on the same competitive terms with other localities in the U.S.

That means:

1. Good relationship between labor and management.
2. Lower taxes on city, county and state levels.
3. Good government.
4. A "will to work" and pride of workmanship by our people at a fair wage rate.

People have one way or another allowed this area to become corrupted. The people must realize that they and they only, can bring back this area on the level with other communities, so that we can compete on more or less equal terms to induce industry to settle here.

It may interest Mr. Scranton and the President to know that the people of Forest City raised enough money ($210,000.00) to build a structure to house the Endicott-Johnson Shoe Factory which employs around two hundred people. We did not run to Harrisburg or Washington for a "handout"! Why cannot Scranton do it?

(Signed)

A. B. CIMOCHOWSKI, Burgess
FOREST CITY, PENNSYLVANIA

Wasteful Government Spending

By Congressman H. R. Gross

Here's where your money goes. R. E. Springwater was a trainee of the US Information Agency. For training he and his wife were shipped from the US all the way to Ceylon, an island in the Indian Ocean southeast of India. Although the government well knew this trainee would be in Ceylon only 10 months, $3,660 was spent on airfare and transportation of furniture. Furthermore, the trainee received $443 in post differential, $121 in post allowances, $770 in quarters allowance, $117 for temporary lodging, and a $125 transfer allowance.

Thus it cost the taxpayers $5,236 just to send the trainee to Ceylon for 10 months and this in addition to a substantial salary!

If further evidence is needed that Uncle Sugar has more money than common sense, hearken to these items: your tax dollars maintain a "cultural attache" in Italy who draws $18,540 a year in salary and allowances, and this government is now in the process of contributing $2½ million to start construction of Haile Selassie University in Ethiopia. Uncle Sugar is committed to spend $10 million on this project to please his Majesty, the Emperor, and this despite the fact that less than 2% of the population of Ethiopia is literate, which means that the first need is for elementary and vocational schools rather than a university.

If the above items are not enough to convince you that Uncle is having a field day in distant places with your money, then try this one on for size: In India, $20 million of your tax dollars have been obligated for what is known as the Orissa iron ore project. When good old Uncle Sugar gets this project in operation, Japanese industry, which is now flooding this country with imports, has agreed to buy 2 million tons of iron ore from India each year.

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Ike Vows to Bare Secret F.D.R.-Stalin Papers

By Ted Lewis
Washington Bureau Chief of the New York Daily *News*

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, it was learned recently, has in his personal custody the long-secret papers of various World War II "summit" conferences. He took them with him when he left the White House January 20 as insurance against any tampering with or suppression of the documents by the Kennedy Administration.

In Ike's hands, it can be revealed, are the proofsheets, now classified secret, of the Cairo-Tehran Conferences of 1943 and of the 1945 Potsdam Conference. The papers had been scheduled to be released by the State Department later this year in printed form under arrangements made when Ike was in the White House.

Unless they are released as is, or if there is any undue delay in releasing them, the former President firmly intends to see that his own unexpurgated file of the documents reaches the American people.

The papers are reported to contain far more dynamite concerning US concessions to Communist Russia than was revealed in the Yalta Conference documents when the veil of secrecy of those Stalin-Churchill-Roosevelt talks was lifted six years ago.

The concessions made by F.D.R. at the Cairo-Tehran meetings cleared the way, it has been charged, for the postwar Communist grabs of Eastern Europe and mainland China.

The Potsdam Conference papers are considered relatively unimportant compared with those of Cairo and Tehran. The Potsdam meeting in July, 1945, came after F.D.R.'s death.

Then President Truman sat down with Josef Stalin after Germany had surrendered but before the first atom bomb was dropped on Japan. Truman was in the position of having to accept as accomplished facts whatever deals had been made previously.

The decision by Eisenhower to take personal custody of the secret wartime material was reached at a White House conference with Republican Congressional leaders shortly before the January 20 inauguration of President Kennedy.

The Congressional group included Senate GOP Leader Everett Dirksen (Ill.) and Styles Bridges (N. H.), chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee.

The same group first met with Ike on the war secrets problem in early December. At that time, Ike was told that in view of the November 8 election of a Democratic President, every effort should be made to expedite publication of the Cairo-Tehran and Potsdam documents. Ike agreed to ask Secretary of State Herter to try to get the conference papers released before he left office January 20.

This turned out to be impossible. Ike therefore told his Congressional lieutenants, at his meeting with them just before January 20, that he was doing the next best thing. He would take with him to Gettysburg the classified proofsheets.

One of those who sat in on this final meeting said Ike informed the group "that he wants all the information of Potsdam and Cairo and Tehran released just as soon as possible."

The informant added:

"And because he wanted all the papers published, he would not be hesitant to see that the information reached the American people. This would also be true if there was any undue delay on the part of the Kennedy Administration."

At that time, Ike had information from the State Department that the papers were in such shape that the Cairo-Tehran Conference "secrets" were certain to be ready for release in a one-volume document in March at the latest.

One volume of the Potsdam Conference also was reported ready in galley proofs then. But it was planned to complete a second Potsdam volume so that both could be released together. This project was in line for completion sometime in April.

The State Department said recently, however, that this time schedule was incorrect. The Potsdam papers are unlikely to be released before July, while the Cairo-Tehran papers "will not be in shape until near the end of the year." It was denied that any orders to delay publication of this material had been handed down since Kennedy took office.

The Cairo and Tehran Conference papers are lumped in one volume, as the meetings were intertwined. At the Cairo meeting of November 22-26, 1943, F.D.R. and Winston Churchill conferred with General and Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. Agreement was reached with Chiang on a "no surrender" pledge in return for British-US commitments to return Manchuria to China and to free Korea.

When the Cairo meeting ended, Churchill and F.D.R. flew to Tehran, where Roosevelt met Stalin for the first time. The Big Three agreed at the three-day Tehran meeting on plans for the Allied invasion of Europe and, while details are still cloaked in secrecy, on Soviet "rights" in Eastern Europe, the partition of Poland, etc.

The papers that Ike now has in his possession are understood to clear up a whole raft of rumors, many of them printed as to various deals made both at Tehran and Cairo.

For example, Elliott Roosevelt, who accompanied his father to both conferences, reported in his book, "As He Saw It" (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, publishers, 270 pp., $3), that F.D.R. at Cairo promised Chiang Kai-shek US support for postwar evacuation of the British from the crown colony of Hong Kong.

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In return, according to Elliott, Chiang agreed to take the Chinese Communists into his government and have his troops concentrate on fighting the Japanese instead of the Chinese Reds.

F.D.R. is quoted by his son as saying: "I was especially happy to hear the Generalissimo agree to invite the Communists in as part of the national government prior to elections.

"Actually, as far as he (Chiang) is concerned, the only [evidence] of our good faith that he expects is that when Japan is on her knees we make sure that no British warships come into Chinese ports. Only American warships. And I've given him my personal promise that that's what will happen."

At the Tehran Conference, Stalin is said to have stated bluntly his basic price for entry into the war against Japan—domination of all Eastern Europe by Moscow.

Elliott quoted his father as being enthusiastic about the Tehran results, particularly because he believed Stalin had agreed to cooperate in keeping global peace once the war was over.

"We agreed at Tehran," F.D.R. was quoted as saying, "that our three countries (the US, Britain and Russia), the three strongest countries in the world, could be intelligent enough about future disagreements, could so unify our foreign policies as to ensure that there would be no war for many generations. That's what we talked about from noon until 10 o'clock—how to unify our policies, how to mesh our individual nations' interests in the interests of a general security for the whole world."

Two Strong Men: Smith vs. Rayburn

By Willard Edwards
Capitol Hill correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune*

THE GENTLEMAN from Virginia ambled through the doorway of the House of Representatives chamber and eased his long, spare frame into a leather chair.

He sat quietly, a gentle smile on his lips, responding absent-mindedly to the frequent salutations of his colleagues who were regarding him with mingled admiration and awe.

RAYBURN

SMITH

Howard Worth Smith, 78, a member of Congress for 30 years and chairman of the House Rules committee, wore the placid expression of a man who had just dined well and was considering a well-earned snooze.

Past him stalked, without a glance in his direction, the short aggressive figure of Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, 79, his hairless dome glittering under the chandeliers, a scowl on his face, and anger in his eye.

"Who won the fight?" asked a freshman Congressman of an elder. "The judge [Smith] looks happy, the speaker is sore. I should think it would be the other way around."

"Sam Rayburn and Judge Smith both know only too well," was the response, that Sam has won the first two skirmishes but the judge may win the war. This one is going to be fun to watch."

No personal encounter in recent years has stirred more interest in Congress than the head-on clash between these two powerful Democratic leaders. Between them, they muster 78 years of service in the House and know every parliamentary stratagem and cloakroom maneuver possible in a no-holds-barred contest.

On January 31, the two tangled on the House floor in a battle over Rayburn's proposal to pack Smith's Rules Committee with three additional members in order to give so-called liberals a majority. A conservative coalition of Republicans and Democrats headed by Smith has controlled the committee in recent years.

Rayburn won the roll-call vote, 217 to 212, but he and everyone in the House knew that this had been accomplished only by a campaign of intimidation in which members of President Kennedy's Cabinet put pressure on individual Democrats, combining both threats and promises. Even then, Rayburn needed the support of 22 Republicans to gain his narrow 5-vote margin.

For a speaker who enjoys an 87-vote Democratic majority in the House, it was not a glorious victory. The result boded ill for future contests when Republicans may not be available to rescue the Democratic leadership.

Smith's long, rather doleful countenance conceals an impish sense of humor. He was quick to test out the leadership assertions that stacking of the Rules Committee was essential to break a bottleneck on House legislation.

"We are on the new frontier," he remarked, mockingly. "The administration calls for action. The wagon train must roll."

Thereupon, he slyly called up two measures, both obnoxious to Rayburn. The first would have authorized televised hearings of House proceedings. The second would have outlawed "backdoor spending," a process whereby some government departments may bypass Congress in spending the taxpayer's money.

The eight "liberals" now in command of the committee, with full knowledge that both these bills were highly popular in the House, were embarrassed but did not hesitate in voting 8-6 to keep them from House consideration. Smith kept reminding them gently of their furious insistence in the past that no committee should have power to

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block a House vote on legislation with substantial backing.

More of the same is scheduled. Representative Clarence Brown (R.-Ohio), a committee member who is watching the Rayburn-Smith fracas with unalloyed pleasure, noted the possibilities:

"There is a bill before the committee which deals with oil and gas and there just happens to be a little oil in Texas. Mr. Sam doesn't want that bill reported.

"We always have a number of prohibition bills introduced in every session. Members have depended on the Rules Committee to hold them up. You may see some of these coming out for a vote."

The Rules Committee was created to prevent this kind of nonsense. Fifteen thousand bills are introduced every session, many of them sponsored for purposes of individual publicity or to satisfy pressure groups.

Ninety per cent die in the legislative committees to which they are referred. The Rules Committee sorts out those receiving committee approval, selecting for floor consideration those measures commanding substantial support. Otherwise, chaos would be the result.

Despite his defeats thus far, Smith remains the second most powerful man in the House. He is an acknowledged master tactician, able and shrewd. He strolls about the chamber, peering benignly over his glasses, an unlit black cigar in his hand.

Or, he sits quietly in his seat, hands folded in his lap, apparently uninterested as debate rages around him. Occasionally, spokesmen for southern conservative Democrats stop by his seat and listen to whispered instructions. When the coalition of Republicans and Democratic conservatives swing into action on the floor, he is the center of attention. He is in frequent touch off the floor with the GOP minority leader, Representative Charles Halleck (Ind.).

He earned the title of judge by eight years service on the Virginia bench before he was elected to the first of 16 consecutive terms in Congress in 1931. He is unfailingly courteous to all who approach, but embittered opponents acclaim him ruthless.

One of his favorite tactics has been a quiet disappearance when demands were being made for a Rules Committee hearing on legislation he considered unworthy of House debate. He has a farm estate in nearby Virginia and retires there to commune with nature. A couple of years ago, he sent back word that his absence was required because one of his dairy barns had burned down.

"I knew Howard Smith would do almost anything to block a bill he doesn't like," said Rayburn, only partly in jest, "but I never suspected he would resort to arson."

A Lesson in Socialism

Letter from Thomas J. Shelly to the Foundation for Economic Education

As a teacher in the public schools, I find that the socialist-communist idea of taking "from each according to his ability" and giving "to each according to his need" is now generally accepted without question by most of our pupils. In an effort to explain the fallacy in this theory, I sometimes try this approach with my pupils:

When one of the brighter or harder-working pupils makes a grade of 95 on a test, I suggest that I take away 20 points and give them to a student who had made only 55 points on his test. Thus each would contribute according to his ability and—since both would have a passing mark—each would receive according to his need. After I have juggled the grades of all the other pupils in this fashion, the result is usually a "common ownership" grade of between 75 and 80—the minimum needed for passing, or for survival. Then I speculate with the pupils as to the probable results if I actually used the socialistic theory for grading papers.

First, the highly productive pupils—and they are always a minority in school as well as in life—would soon lose all incentive for producing. Why strive to make a high grade if part of it is taken from you by "authority" and given to someone else?

Second, the less productive pupils—a majority in school as elsewhere—would, for a time, be relieved of the necessity to study or to produce. This socialist-communist system would continue until the high producers had sunk—or had been driven down—to the level of the low producers. At that point, in order for anyone to survive, the "authority" would have no alternative but to begin a system of compulsory labor and punishments against even the low producers. They, of course, would then complain bitterly, but without understanding.

Finally I return the discussion to the ideas of freedom and enterprise—the market economy—where each person has freedom of choice, and is responsible for his own decisions and welfare.

Gratifyingly enough, most of my pupils then understand what I mean when I explain that socialism—even in a democracy—will eventually result in a living-death for all except "authorities" and a few of their favorite lackeys.

More About Murrow

Letter from Edna M. Peterson to New York Daily *News*

Although Edward R. Murrow implies that many businessmen resort to vice to sell their wares, he declines to divulge any names or places to the police, on the ground that he's protecting sources . . . . Wasn't he one of the bleeding hearts who cried bitter tears because certain people had been named as Communists by "faceless people?"

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